19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

556 The more opulent farmers keep one or more men or women as permanent servants. These
● 464 are employed from spring until autumn, their
465 remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
464 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such
621 as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer
241 peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
273 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kals* of
439 barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 425 428 [182] He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without being polyandrous. It seemed to him incomprehensible that one could stay rich while dividing up the family property with each monogamous marriage, as we do in our countries. It would be impossible to do this in Ladak, he said, because there would never be enough to go round, and everybody would quickly be reduced to famine.

I must say that Lobsang Tok-Tok's question took me by surprise. In those days I had given no thought to this problem and it had never occurred to me yet that this might appear extraordinary to people living in polyandry. So I said that, now that I came to think of it, it was no doubt true that things were not the same with us. When we married, I said, each of us goes off with his wife and tries to fend for himself and build up a family life based on his own earnings. Of course, it meant tapping new sources of production, but then we did move away and were continually starting new enterprises in new places in order to be able to live.

Lobsang agreed that it would not be possible to do otherwise if one did not live in polyandry on the same piece of land, in the same household, generation after generation, without dividing it up. He had noticed, he said, that those Ladakis who were converts to Mohammedanism did the same as we did; they ceased, overnight, to be polyandrous, and divided up the property immediately they got married. The result was that there was not enough to go round for all of them. The eldest brother remained on the best part of the land, and the others had to move away. They had to look for work, often as landless labourers, which was most depressing. He had noticed, too, that some of them even went further afield, and travelled all the way to Burma to work in the ruby mines there. Obviously, he concluded, they did so just as Europeans had to do, because they were monogamous, and even, in some cases, polygamous (polygynous).

595 425 428 595 [NA]

595 123 182 Lobsang Tok-Tok was silent for a little while after this long discourse (which Nono Tse-P'hün translated for me) and I sat cross-legged opposite him, a cup of tea in my hand, looking at his heavy, mongoloid frame and face (upon which some hair did, nevertheless, grow), and wondering who was doing the field-work, he or I. Then he said something again to my interpreter and shortly afterwards I heard in English what it was that he had said. It was that he could now grasp why Europeans had colonies throughout the world, why they came to India and even to Ladak. It was obviously because, with the family system that they had, they did not have enough to live on at home, and the fact that they did not practise polyandry led them to go overseas to seek

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 364]